

A TRUE  
NARRATION  
Of that Horrible CONSPIRACY  
AGAINST  
King JAMES  
And the whole PARLIAMENT,  
OF  
ENGLAND,

Commonly called the  
Gun-Powder TREASON:

Written in Latine by *Jacobus Augustus Thuanus*, Privy-Councillor  
to the King of France, and President of the Supream Senate  
of that Kingdom.

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Faithfully rendred into English.

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LONDON,  
Printed for *John Leigh* at the Sign of the Blew Bell by *Flying-  
Horse* Court in Fleet-street. 1674.

THE  
NARRATION

OF THE HORRIBLE DEATH OF  
A GENTLEMAN

JAMES JAMES

OF THE CITY OF LONDON

BY

JOHN JAMES

OF THE CITY OF LONDON

IN TWO VOLUMES

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*The History of the Powder Plot*  
*Translated out of Thuanus, lib. 135*



OW shall we in a continued Relation  
 declare that horrid and by now  
 all Parties justly & deservedly detestable is  
 Conspiracy entered into at some of the Students  
 against the King of Great Britain, which being dis-  
 covered about the end of January of the year  
 1605, the next year suppressed by the death of the  
 of England, which they call Foulis, Hill, of Popish Treasons, &c. 1605. p. 692.

To the Petition for Liberty of Conscience made by the Pa-  
 pists in the former Session of Parliament, and rejected by the  
 King, there was a rumour there would be another presented  
 at the next Sessions, (which had been now often desired)  
 which should be in no danger of being denied as the former,  
 but should carry with it a necessity of being granted by the  
 King whether he would or not. Therefore those that man-  
 aged the Affairs of the Kingdom under a generous and no  
 ways suspicious King, leaving nothing worse did undertake  
 their business to avoid such Petitions, and that necessity that  
 did attend them. But among the Conspirators it was con-

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lusted, not, how they might obtain the Kings favour, which they now desired of; but how they might revenge that repulse, though with the ruins of the Kingdom, which the other never thought of.

The beginning of these Conspiracies are to be derived from the latter end of *Q. Elizabeth*. For then, as appeared afterwards by proofs and confessions, *Robert Winton* (to whom *Osmond* *Trevelyan* also *General* of the Society of the *Jesus* turned himself as his Companion) was by the advice of *Flav. Gower*, Provincial or Superiour of the said Society in England (*Robert Casby* and *Francis Tresham* of the Gentry, instigating) privately sent into Spain, in the name of the Catholics, with Letters Commendatory to *Arthur Cesswell* of the same Society living in Spain, and with Commands to the King, of which this was the Summe.

That he should forthwith send an Army into England, for which the Catholics would be ready to arm as soon as it came over. In the mean while that he should assign yearly Pensions to some Catholick Gentlemen. Furthermore, that he should insinuate it to the King, that there were some Gentlemen and Military persons that were employed at the Present State of things, whom he might easily draw to his Part, by relieving their necessities. And whereas the greatest difficulty, after the Landing such an Army, would be for supply of Horses; they in England would take care to have Two thousand Horses ready provided upon all occasions.

This thing was secretly transacted by the Mediation of *Cesswell* with *Petrus Franciscus* Secretary to King *Philip*, and *Franciscus Sandouillius* Duke of *Lerins*, and he affirmed that the thing would be very acceptable to King *Philip*, and that he had offered his utmost assistance: that it was also agreed among them of the Place of Landing. For if the forces were great, then *Went* and *Essex* would be most commodious for their Landing; *Wick*, *Milford* in *Wales*; and that King *Philip* had promised by Count *Miranda* toward that Expedition Ten hundred thousand Crowns. Stored with these promises, *Winton* returns into England, and acquaints *Gower*, *Casby*, and *Tresham* what he had done.

These

*Robert Winton*  
sent into Spain  
to Arthur Cesswell

*An. 1601.*  
*Masdon.*

*Transacted by the*  
*mediation of Arthur*  
*Cesswell with the Secretary*  
*to King Philip*

*Decretis cunctis*  
*amiran C.*



*The History of the Persecution.*

These things were manifested under Q. Elizabeth, who dying about this time, Christopher Wright who was privy to John Marston, is especially *see last page*, who bringing the News of the Queens Death, preffeth the business of the Persecution and the Expedition. With him was sent from Brussels by William Stanley, Henry Owen, and Richardson, (one of the Society of the Jesuits) Golden Scales, with Letters to Crescent that he should speed the business. To him was given in Command, that he should signify to the King that the Condition of the Catholics, would be more hard under the new King, than it had been under Q. Elizabeth; and therefore that he should by no means desert from his laudable Enterprise. That might lay open for an easie Landing to Spain.

But the State of things was changed by the death of the Queen, and King Philip returned an Answer worthy of a King, that he could no longer attend to their Business, for that he had sent Ambassadors into England, in name of Peace with the new King.

Therefore despising of their Design, in so King Philip, the Conspiration by in their last and desperate Councils, and in the first place they make it their design to satisfy their Conscience, and that being done, they confirm their resolution to attempt some great Enterprise, and thus their Designe discoverd.

To depose Kings, to murder Kings, to murder the Pope, the Supreme Judge of the Church, and all Hereticks being *ipse jure* separated from communion of the Faithful, are every year on Holy Thursday, excommunicated by the Pope. And this holdeth not only in Professed Hereticks, but in those that are secretly such; though being reputed *ipse jure* Excommunicated they do incur the (same) Penalties, which are *ipse jure* deserved by professed Hereticks. From thence it follows, that Kings and other Christian Princes if they fall into Heresy may be deposed, and their Subjects discharged of their Allegiance. Nor can they recover their Right again, no, not though they should be reconciled to the Church. When it is said that the Church, the Common Mother of all, doth shut her, before against none that

*Mr. 1602*  
*P. Wright*  
*sent into Spain*  
*with*  
*Guido Fawkes*  
*Jan. 1602*

*King Philip*

*1602*

*Secret to Spain*

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return to her, this is to be understood with a distinction; viz. provided it be not to the damage or danger of the Church. For this is true as to the Soul, but not as to the Kingdom.

Nor ought this punishment to be extended only to Princes that are thus infected, but also to their Sons, who for their Fathers Sin are excluded from Succession in the Kingdom. For Heresie is a Leprosie, and an Hereditary Disease: and to speak more plainly, he loseth his Kingdom that deserteth the Roman Religion: he is to be accursed, abdicated, proscribed; neither is he, nor any of his Posterity to be restored to the Kingdom & as to his Soul, he may be absolved by the Pope only.

Thinking themselves abundantly secured within by these reasonings, they begin to seek outward strengthenings to their Conspiracy: and chiefly *Secresse*, which they sealed by Confession, and the receiving of the Sacrament. To this end there was an Oath drawn up amongst them, in which they did engage their Faith by the H. Trinity and the Sacrament, which they were presently to receive, that they would neither directly nor indirectly by word or circumstance discover the Plot now to be communicated to them, nor would they desist from prosecuting it, unless allowed by their Associates.

Thus being encouraged by the Authority of their Divines, they betake themselves to the adventure (as) not only lawful & laudable, but meritorious. This was done before *John Gerard* of that Society.

Unto this, after Confession, by the Sacrament of the Holy Altar, were drawn in, the next May, at first five of the Conspirators; *Robert Catesby*, *Tho. Winter*, *Tho. Percy*, *Kinsman* to the E. of Northumberland, *John Wright*, and the above-mentioned *Fawkes* called out of Flanders.

*Catesby*, the Author of this Tragedy, thought it not enough that this, or that, or any single person should be aimed at, but that all together, and at the same time, should be comprehended in this Conspiracy.

When it is said that the Church was to be burnt, it is to be understood that the Church was to be burnt, and not the Church.

May, 1604

Oath

Conspirators

Author of the Plot

For so he reasoned with himself.

The King himself might many wayes be taken away, but this would be nothing as long as the Prince and the Duke of York were alive again, if they were removed, yet this would advantage nothing so long as there remained a Parliament, so vigilant, so circumspect to whatever might happen, or if the Parliament could, or the chief Members of it, could be destroyed, there would remain still the Peers of the Realm, so many Prudent Persons, so many powerful Earls, addicted to that Party, whom they could hardly resist, and who by their Authority, Wealth and Dependants, would be able, if occasion should be, to restore things to their former state. Therefore not by delays, but at one blow all were to be swallowed up, and so laudable an Atchievement was to be brought to effect altogether, and at once.

*His reasoning*

At Westminster there is an old Palace of very great Honor and Veneration for its Antiquity, in which the great Councils of the Kingdom are used to be celebrated: which by a word borrowed from us, they call a Parliament. In this, the King with His Male issue, the Bishops of His Privy Council, the Peers, the English Nobility, the Chief Magistrates, and those that are delegated from particular Countreies, Cities, Towns, and Burroughs; in short, the Men of greatest Wisdom and Counsel do meet together.

Here *Catesby* thought a convenient place to execute his so long studied and digested Plot: and having made a Vault, and storing it with a great quantity of Gun-Powder, to involve all those together, who could not severally be taken, together with the King and His Family, in the Rubbish of the same Ruines.

*Purcys offer*

Therefore when he had dealt with *Piery*, and he after many bitter complaints of the King, through impatience broke forth into these words, 'That there was only one way left to be delivered from so many Evils, and that was to take the King out of the way, and to that end, as he was ready for any attempt, did freely offer his own Service. *Catesby*, who was more cautious and cunning, moderated the Gentlemans heat, and, 'God forbid, said he, that this Head of thine so dear

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'dear to all good men should be so fruitlessly exposed to such  
'danger. The business may be undertaken and accomplished,  
'yet so as that you and such as you are may still be prefer-  
'red for further consulting for Religion and the Publick  
'weal.

Then he opens his design in very plausible words, and with  
like Artifice shows him the manner how it was to be effected.  
Piercy agrees; and presently hires an House nigh to the place,  
and very opportune to work his Vault.

The Parliament that was called the year before, was dissolved  
the 11<sup>th</sup> February following. Mean while, Tho. Bates, Cavalier's  
Servant, a dextrous Fellow, and one to whom his Master did  
much confide, being, least he should suspect any thing, taken  
into the privacy of the Plot, when at first he seemed to be mo-  
ved at the horridness of the thing, he is sent to *Tesmond alias*  
*Greenwell*, (for those men, that they might the better be un-  
discovered, went under two Names, sometimes under three)  
by whom he was persuaded, and strangely constrained to the  
Execution of the design, being made sensible of the Mortu-  
ousness of the work. Afterwards *Robert Raper*, and after him  
*Andrews Raskwood*, and *John Grew*, were taken into the Plot.  
III Ed. X<sup>th</sup>. *the Vault was begun*, *Christopher Widdie*, and  
a little after *Robert Winter* being also taken into the Society.

The work being often intermitted and often repeated, at  
length the Vault was brought to the Wall of the Court, where  
a new difficulty ariseth from the hardness of the Wall, and the  
thickness of three Ells: so that under a long time the work  
could not be finished, and there were now but a few dayes to  
the sitting of the Parliament.

And now the pertinacious industry of the Workmen had  
almost beat its way through the middle of the Wall, and they  
seemed not so much to want good minds (to the work) as  
time, when as the Parliament was put off till the Month of  
October. Then was *Disposel* turned into Joy, with certain con-  
fidence that they should effect their design: and it was ob-  
served that whiles they briskly beat upon the Wall, there was  
a noise heard upon the other side of the Wall. *Thatcher Paine*  
is sent to enquire out the cause. He brings word back that  
there

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there was a Cellar under Ground, from whence they were removing Cole, he being lately Dead who had hired that Cellar for his own use. Therefore the Conspirators thinking that Cellar more commodious, by the help of Perry let out their other Houses, and bring all their Materials & hopes into this. Such was the opportuneness of the place (for it was almost directly under the Royal Throne) that so seasonable an accident did make them persuade themselves, that God did by a secret Conduct favour their Attempt. These things happened about the Feast of Easter. The Gun-powder is at their leisure carried into the Cellar from Casby's House over against the Palace, where it had been with great care and diligence brought together; First, Twenty Barrels are layed in and covered with Billets and Faggots,

*2 Barrels of Gun powder*

Then the Conspirators being sure of the good event, began to consult what was to be done after they had effected their Plot: First, they consider'd of taking the Prince, who about that time, they came to understand, would not come to the Parliament with his Father, contrary to what they concluded in the beginning, and against him they plotted destruction; as one that was no Friend of theirs, and they had found out a way for it.

*taking of the Prince*

The next care was for Supplies of Money, concerning which they thought they had sufficiently provided. They had also provided that the *Pawn* and *Curry* should be Papery; should, as much as might be, be exempt from danger. Lastly, they debated concerning calling in Foreign Princes to their assistance; but being doubtful of their faith and fidelity, they thought fit not to tend to them till they had accomplished their design; for commonly such Actions are not commended but by their Event.

*Capitally*

They pass'd their Judgments upon them severally, all *Spaniards* seemed to be more opportune for them, but too remote, and too slow in reliving Forces. The *French* was near, but fearful and suspicious for the close league he held with the Dutch. The most present help was from *Flanders*, from whence they might most commodiously expect Supplies; for which *Samy* was designed the Captain or Commander,

*as to Spain who France Flanders*

Moscovitz,

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Moreover, that they might the more easily deceive the world, and least by their passing to and fro to those places they should give some cause of Suspicion, they go their several wayes; some into the Countrey, some a great way out of the Island, waiting for the time appointed for the Execution. *Fawkes* went into *Flanders* that he might acquaint *Stanly* and *Owen* with the whole Matter, nor did he return into *England* till the latter end of *August*.

*Catesby*, that he might not be idle in the mean time, gets *Francis Tresham* and *Everard Digby* to his Party, agreeing with them for Supply of Money, and the former promised Two thousand pounds of *English Money*, the other Fifteen hundred. *Piercy*, that was prodigal at another mans charge, promised whatsoever he could scrape together of the Revenues of the E. of *Northumberland*.

In the mean time, Ten more Barrells of Gun-powder are added to the former, and four more greater than the rest, upon suspicion, lest by the moistness of the place, the former should have been spoiled, and again, they are all covered over with a great heap of stones and wood.

And now the time of the *Parliaments* convening drew on, which was again put off till the *Nones of November*. Therefore the Conspirators did again repeat their consultation, and some were appointed who, on the same day that the *Enterprize* was to be Executed, should seize upon the *Lady Elizabeth* (the *Kings* eldest Daughter, who was brought up under the *Lord Farrington* in *Warwickshire*) under pretence of an Hunting Match, which *Everard Digby*, who was privy to the matter, had appointed with great preparation at *Dunehursh*. Her they decreed publicly to Proclaim Queen.

They taking to themselves the Titles of the Assertors of liberty, did nothing less at first than profess themselves the Authors of the Fact, or make any mention of Religion to the People, but purposed to hold that in suspense for some time, and by a Proclamation published in the *Queens* name to redress great grievances for the present, and feed them with hopes of more for the future, till the Faction growing strong, either by favour or severity of new Edicts, they might draw the People

\* They purposed when the blow was first given — but the success thereof doubtful, to fasten the act on the Puritans. Fuller v. Fowler. p. 690.



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to their Parts and Obedience; and the adownness of their fact so by degrees discovering it self would in time, and together with their good success grow off.

Nor came it in so long time into the minds of any of them how many Innocents all about them, how many Infants, how many that agreed with them in Religion, how many who perhaps had deserved well of them that vast ruine would over-whelm.

Now all things are ready, and the last Scene was going to be Acted, when as by the unsearchable Judgment of God, one who desired to save another, brought destruction both to himself and his Associates.

There were ten dayes to the Parliament, when upon Saturday in the Evening a Letter was brought as from a Friend to the Lord Montague, but by whom written, is uncertain, and by whom brought unknown. By it he was warned to forbear meeting at the Parliament for the two first dayes of the Session; forasmuch as some great, and sudden, and unsuspected mischief did threaten that Meeting.

The hand of him that wrote it was unknown, and the writing it self purposely so ordered, that it could hardly be read. No date to the Letter, no subscription, no inscription put to it, and the whole composure of words ambiguous.

The Lord Montague was doubtful what he should do; therefore late in the night he goeth to Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury, and chief Secretary to the King, and giving him the Letter, freely declared to him how he came by it, and how little he valued it. Cecil did not make much more account of it, and yet thought it was not altogether to be neglected; and Therefore shewed it to the chief Councillors, Charles Howard, Chief Admiral of the Seas, the Earl of Nottingham, to the Earls of Worcester, and Northampton.

The thing being considered of amongst them, although at first sight the Letter seemed of no great moment; yet they thought that not the slightest discovery ought to be despised, especially where the safety of the King was endangered, nor such great care to be blamed in them, to whom the preservation of His Majesty did both by Office and Duty belong.

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The King was then gone to *Roxton*, to Hunt. It seemed good to them to determine nothing before they had consulted the King. For they said that they had oftentimes experienced the quick apprehension, and *happy conjecture* of the King in *unriddling things that were liable to greatest doubtfulness*.

Upon the Calends of November, the King returned to the City, and forth with Cecil taking him aside, unfolds the matter, and shews him the Letter, which it seems worth while to insert here for the perpetual remembrance of it; forasmuch as not without cause it afforded such matter of dispute between him and his Councillors.

'The love which I bear to some of your Friends makes me careful for your safety. Wherefore I advise you, as you love your life, that you would invent some excuse for your absence from the Parliament. For God and Men, as it were by agreement do hasten to punish the wickedness of this Age. Do not make light of this warning, but depart as soon as you can into your own Countrey, where you may securely expect the event. For although no signs of troubles do appear, yet I admonish you, that that meeting shall receive a terrible blow, and shall not see who smiteth them. Do not despise this discovery, it may be profitable to you, it cannot hurt you. For the danger is over as soon as you have burnt this Letter. I hope by the grace of God you will make good use of this Counsell, to whose protection I commend you.

The King having read the Letter (though through the generousness of his mind, he was no way prone to suspicion) did conjecture that some strange thing did lye hid under it, and that the notice given, was by no means to be neglected.

On the other side, Cecil said, it was certainly written by some Mad man: For no man well in his wits would speak at this rate of a danger which he doth admonish so much to beware of. *The danger is over as soon as you shall burn the Letter.* How small a danger could that be which should vanish in so short a moment.

On the other side the King, in whose breast the first suspicion had now taken deep root, urged the foregoing words, *That assembly shall receive a terrible blow, and shall not see who smiteth*

*smite them.* And whiles walking in the Gallery he deeply thought of these things from one particular to another, it came into his mind that a sudden blow by Gun-powder was intended by those words : For what more sudden then a blow by Gun-powder ?

Thus the King and *Salisbury* so broke off their discourse, that the King did strongly persevere in his conjecture. *Salisbury* to free the Kings mind from fears and cares seemed in his presence to make light of this notice given ; but in the mean time admiring within himself the Kings uncouth and unusual interpretation, and so presently suspecting it, did conclude, that it was not lightly to be regarded.

The next day the thing being again considered of by the King, and His Counsellors, it seemed good that the *Palace* with the places near adjoining, should be diligently searched, and that business was assigned to the Lord *Chamberlain*, who upon the *Monday* which preceded the Parliament, about the Evening, that he might give no occasion of Rumours, goes with the Lord *Montague* to those places : entering into the house that *Perey* had hired, they found a great heap of Billets and Fagots and Coal in a Vault underground ; and *Wineard* the Keeper of the Kings houses being there present, he was asked for what use they were brought in thither ? they understood that the house was hired by *Perey*, and that heap was brought in by him.

Moreover the Chamberlain spying *Fawks* standing in a corner of the Cellar, asked who he was, and what business he had there ? Who answered, that he was the Domestick Servant of *Perey*, and the Keeper of that house in *Perey's* absence.

Having thus done, they return to the Court, reporting what they had seen, and conjecturing worse things then formerly they had done. For it came into *Montague's* mind upon the mention of *Perey*, that he was highly addicted to the Popish Religion, that they had formerly been acquainted, and lived as Friends, and it might be that he was the Author of that Letter which gave ground to all this suspicion.

The Lord Chamberlain among other suspicious matters did revolve in his mind, that that store of wood in the house of

*Salisbury*

*Resolution*

*Search made in Perey's house*

*Wardrobe.*

*Fawks.*

*their report*

*Montague's thought*

*Chamberlain's thoughts*

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*Percy*, where he seldom resided, was not brought in thither to no purpose, and that that Servant of *Percy* whom he saw in the Cellar, looked like a desperate, wicked Knave.

All which things did increase the Kings suspicion; who would have that Vault further searched again; but least if nothing were found, the Counsellors should make themselves ridiculous to the People, as if they were afraid of every light report; and moreover, fearing, lest whiles they appeared to suspect *Percy*, who was allied in Blood to the chiefest Peers of the Realm, they should seem to suspect the Earl of *Northumberland* himself: yet when the safety of the King did prevail upon them, they so ordered the matter, that search should be made without noise or injury to any.

It was given in command to *Sir Thomas Knevet*, Justice of Peace for *Westminster*, that in the dead of the Night he should go with a convenient company to that house, and should take *Wineard* a long with him, under pretence that he had lost some Hangings and Tapestry.

Thither *Sir Tho. Knevet* going, finds *Fawke*, *Percy's* Domestic Servant, who under a feigned name called himself *John Johnson*, before the House booted and habited for a Journey; and he gives command presently to lay hold on him. From thence going into the Cellar, he speedily removes the Wood and Coal, which being removed, the Treason appeared, one little Barrel of Gun-powder being first discovered by it self, and afterward the heap being removed 36 Barrels of different magnitude were found there.

Then turning to the Prisoner, and examining his Garments they found in them tinder, and three Match cords.

But he being taken in the Fact, and not able to deny, the case being now desperate, he of his own accord confessed the Crime, and with an unappalled countenance (as he was a man of a resolute mind to undertake any desperate attempt) he added, that it was well for them that they found him before the house, now lately come out of the Cellar, in which all things were ready: for if they had found him within, he would not have stood to have buried himself and them together, by putting fire to the Train.

*Knevet*

Knevet having discovered the matter, returns forthwith rejoicing to the Palace, about Four a Clock in the Morning, and acquaints Salisbury and the Lord Chamberlain; who presently with a noise rush into the Kings Bed Chamber, and tell him the Treason was detected, and they had the Author of it in Custody and Bonds.

Knevet goes to the Kings

The fame of this being spread abroad, for in so great a matter of Joy it could not be concealed, the Conspirators fly some this way, some that way, and meet together at Holbech at the house of Stephen Littleton, in the borders of Staffordshire.

Conspirators fly & where meet

Thither came those that were privy to the Conspiracy out of Warwickshire and Worcester-shire; although they were ignorant of the discovery of the Plot, having taken away by force from Gentlemens houses their Warr-horses; thereby giving a manifest token what they would have done when they had got the power in their hands, when as they ravaged with such boldness, while the event was yet doubtful.

The Leaders of the Faction trusted that great numbers of Men, and a considerable Army would flock into them, as soon as they should appear in Arms. But the Lieutenants and Sheriffs being before, while the Treason was only suspected, Commanded by the King to ride about their Counties, their attempts were all made void; and scarcely an Hundred of all that number appeared in Arms. And they were encompassed by Richard Walsh, High Sheriff of the County of Worcester, who came upon them unexpectedly with a strong power of Men, so that they could not escape.

When despairing of Pardon, and their troubled Consciences putting them upon desperate exploits, the Gun-powder that was drying by the Fire, took fire by a sparkle that fell into it, and so suddenly burnt the Faces, Sides, Arms, Hands of the Besieged, that they were rendered unable to handle their Arms, and so lost their strength and courage together.

Gun powder of the Conspirators kind

Catesby and Percy, that were most active, together with Tho. Winter, while they betake themselves to a corner of the house, are both shot through with a Leaden Bullet. Winter being wounded, fell into the hands of the Kings Party, both

Katesby & Percy were both taken

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the Wrights were slain; Grant, Digby, Rockwood, and Bates were taken Prisoners. Tresham whiles shifting his Lodgings in London, he sometime escaped, yet at last was taken. Robert Winter and Littleton a long time wandring up and down the Woods, at last fell into the hands of the Guards, and were all committed to the Tower at London.

Being Examined without the rack, (for only Fawks was put under this way of Examination, and that but moderately) they severally discovered the whole series of the matter as we have before recounted, and taxed none in Holy Orders, which many looked upon as purposely avoided, because they were bound by Oath not to do it. When as Francis Tresham had before he dyed in Prison of his own accord nominated Henry Garnet, being admonished thereof by his Wife he wrote a Letter to the Earl of Salisbury, and excusing his too rash confession, he so discharged Garnet as much as in him lay by a solemn adjuration interposed, that he did entangle himself in a notorious lye, affirming† that he had not seen Garnet of sixteen years; when as it did appear afterward by the confession of Garnet\* that they had often and for a long time together conversed one with another, before the six Moneths last past.

† He took it upon his Salvation, even in articulo mortis, (a lamentable thing) for

within three hours after he dyed. Proceedings against the late Traitors. C. c. 2. 3. \* And of Mrs. Anne Vaux, who confessed that she had seen Mr. Tresham with Garnet at her house three or four times since the Kings coming in; and that they were at Elich together the last Summer, and that Garnet and she were not long since with Mr. Tresham at his house in Northampton-shire, and stayed there. Proceedings, *ibid*.

CIOICVI.

Digby confessing the matter as it was in truth endeavoured

† He sought to clear all the Jesuits of those practices which they themselves have now confessed ex ore proprio. Proceedings, *ibid*.

† to excuse the horridness of the Fact, which he acknowledged and seemed to detect, by the desperateness of their condition: For being made to hope that the new King, upon his coming to the Kingdom, would indulge liberty of Conscience to those of the Popish Religion, and would permit the exercise thereof with some restriction; This being denied, it drove those miserable men unadvisedly to pernicious Counsels.

Even at the time of Garnets Tryal was current throughout the Town a report of a Revelation under Bates his hand, of his accusation of Greenwell. Proceedings, *ibid*.

Here



Here the Earl of Northampton and Cecil, (who together with the Earl of Nottingham, Suffolk, Worcester, and Devonshire, did sit as Judges in that Cause) *interposed*, affirming that the King never gave them any hope of liberty, nor ever engaged his word for it; but factious persons did maliciously throw such a report abroad, that they might have a pretence wherewith to excuse both themselves, and such as they were, for the Seditions which they raised in the Kingdom.

At length being Convicted and found Guilty, they are condemned to the punishment wont to be inflicted by the Laws of the Realm upon Rebels and Traytors.

Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates were Executed at London, nigh the Western Gate of St. Paul's Church in the later end of January. The day following, Tho. Winter, Ambrose Rockwood, Robert Ketes, and Guido Fawke, who confessed that they had wrought in the Vault, were Executed at Westminster in the Old Palace yard near the Parliament house.

Upon this many, who for this cause were banished, or of their own accord changed their Native Soil, were most courteously received at Calice, by Dominick Wikes, the Governour there; for so the King commanded.

Of whom one was of such a perverse mind that when Wikes did shew himself to bewail his and his Companions fortune, and for their comfort added, *Though they had lost their Native Country, yet by the Kings grace they had a Neighbouring one allowed them.* Nay, saith the other, *It is the least part of our grief, that we are banished our Native Country, and that we are forced to change our Soil, because every good man counts that his Country where he can be well: this doth truly and heartily grieve us, that we could not bring so generous and wholsome a design to perfection.*

Which as soon as Vicus contrary to his expectation, had heard he could hardly for anger abstain from throwing that man into the Sea, who gloryed in such a Plot as was damned by all men. For so I remember I have heard Vicus often say, when together with Alexander Delbenius; he came courteously upon the account of our Ancient friendship to visit me, a little before he went from us.

The

The Judges in this Cause

Execution of y<sup>e</sup> Grayes

Vicus

The Plot being discovered, the Parliament among publick rejoycings was held with great security. To whom the King made a most weighty Oration, and set forth the inexpressible Mercy of God over all his works, towards Himself, his Family, and His whole Kingdom, largely aggravating the thing from its several circumstances. This temperament being \* with great

\* And this conclusion with no less truth; That as upon the for that there were many among them, who although they are one part many involved in Popish Errors (so be called them) yet had they not lost honest men, their true Loyalty to Princes, but did observe the Duty both of a Christian man, and of a good Subject; and that he in return had Popery, may good thoughts of them: and that he thought the Severity of the yet remaine Puritans was worthy of flames, who deny that any Papist can be good & faith- received into Heaven.  
ful Subjects:

So as on the other part, none of those that truly know and believe the whole ground, and School conclusions of their Doctrine, can ever prove either good Christians or faithful Subjects. He had said a little before, That many honest men blinded peradventure with some opinions of Popery, yet do they either not know, or at least not believe all the true grounds of Popery, which is indeed the mysterie of Iniquity.

This likewise was worthy the Wisdom of a most just Prince, that he did Judge that no Foreign Prince nor Commonwealth, nor none that did manage affairs for them had any hand in this Conspiracy, as who did judg of them according to his own mind and temper, and would think of others what he would that they should think of him.

Therefore he did will and require, that when any mention should be made of this Conspiracy in Parliament, every one should speak and think honourably of them. Which thing was done for the respect that he bore to the Spaniards, with whom desiring to keep that peace which he of late made with them, he would not leave any the least appearance of an alienated affection, or a suspicious mind.

He added this most generously, That, he would that all men should understand, that resting in Gods protection, the tranquillity and quiet of his mind was not at all disturbed by this accident, and that he did wish that his breast were transparent to all,  
that

that his People might behold the most secret recesses of his heart.

But when he judged it might conduce much to Example and Publick Security, that he should severely punish the Authors of so horrid a Crime, and because there was a suspicion arising from Letters, Confessions and Proofs made, that *Gerard* alias *Brak*, *Hen. Garnet*, *Oswald Tesmond* alias *Greenwell*, were either privy to, or promoters of this Conspiracy; therefore upon the XVIII. of the Kalends of February, a Proclamation <sup>14 Jan.</sup> is published against them, and a reward proposed to him that should discover and bring them to their Tryal, as also a Penalty added against those who after the publishing of this Proclamation should entertain, nourish, conceal, or be any way aiding the persons named in that Proclamation, or should at all endeavour that those who are accused of this horrid Crime should not be found out and apprehended.

In order hereunto diligent search is made, and strict enquiry after them, who concealed themselves; at length *Hen. Garnet* and ——— *Hall* and *Garnet's Servant* were taken in the house of *Abington* a Papist, and sent to London, and cast into the Tower. The wretched Servant for fear lest he should be forced by torments to accuse his Master, or despairing upon some other account, did lay violent hands upon himself in the Prison, and with a blunt knife (for he was not permitted to have a keen one by him) he cut up his own Belly, and drew out his Bowels: and although his wound was bound up yet before he could be Examined, he dyed.

*Garnet* was very gently used in his Imprisonment, as he himself afterward confessed.

At first he denied all things; and when it did appear that nothing could be drawn from him voluntarily, and the King that he might avoid calumny was unwilling to use torments upon him, resolves by craft to illude his cautious pertinacity, and to bring him to larger Confessions (who would answer little or nothing) whether he would or not.

He secretly employs a man, who by deep groans, and frequent complaints against the King, and his Counsellors,

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and the deplorable condition of the Catholics in England, did in the end perswade *Garnes* that he was Popishly enclined, and so crept into intimate familiarity with him. This man he sends with a *Letter to a Gentlewoman*, that was Imprisoned for her Religion, who kept her family at *Whiteweb* and other places, and received with great hospitality those whom he commended to her. In which Letter he wrote plainly, and yet sparingly: what things he had already confessed, what he was not yet examined upon, and by what means he would excuse those things (which he had confessed) and conceal these.

He wrote likewise to *Rookenood* the Priest, who was Prisoner in another Prison, and wrote his *Letter* with Ink in the middle, about some familiar matters that any one might read, but left broad Margents on both sides, which he filled with his Secrets, *written with the juice of an Orange*, denying all whatsoever he had confessed before the Lords. As to the *Spanish Expedition*, he said he had obtained the Kings Pardon. As to this last Conspiracy he should avoid Judgment, because he knew they could make no sufficient proofs against him. But however it went, he added, having too high an opinion of himself, that which was spoken of the only Redeemer of the world, 'It would be necessary that one man should die for the People.'

The Letter was by the Kings Councillors, who smelt out the cunning, held to the fire, and presently the writing appear'd, and the fraud was discovered.

He being every day more and more confident of his Intrusted Keeper, told him he did exceedingly desire to have some conference with *Hall*, his Companion. He promised to bring it about, and brought both of them to a place where they might easily hear one another, and where he himself to avoid all suspicion might be seen by them both. In the mean time, he placed two men of known credit near the place who (they knowing no such thing, and minding only the return of their Keeper who was gone abroad) might hear whatsoever passed between them. There each of them freely discover'd what they had confessed, what they had been Examined about, what excuses and evasions (for these were their words) they had

had prepared for every particular, and many other such things, which being carefully taken, were delivered to the Council in writing. The next day (the Prisoners suspecting no such thing) Delegates from the King came to them, and Examine *Garnet* and *Hall* a part, and object to them that they had yesterday held private conference with one another.

*Garnet* thinking they spoke this only upon conjecture † *sisty* † upon his Soul, denied it, and forswore it upon the word of a Priest, reiterating it with so many detestable ex-  
crations, as wounded the Lords hearts to hear him. Pro-  
 ceedings, Y 3.

At last, *Hall* having confessed the Fact, and he finding that there was no avoiding it, begged Pardon for his contrary asser-  
 veration which he sought to elevate by a forced Interpretation or Equivocation. And professing that he would speak the truth ingenuously, He answered, that he had hitherto so con-  
 stantly denied it, because he knew that no man (living) but one, (he meant *Greenwell*), could accuse him as guilty of the late Fact. But now that he saw himself encompassed with such a cloud of witnesses, he would no longer dissemble, but did confess that above V months ago he was acquainted by *Greenwell* with the whole matter. That before that, *Carsoby* had in general told him that the Catholics in England were attempting some great thing, as to Religion, and asked whether if good men should be involved in the danger, this were to be made matter of Conscience. But that he, who had a contrary command from the Pope, that he should not engage in any Conspiracy refused to hear any further of it. That he did pour out prayers for the good success of the great cause, and amongst other things, used the Hymn that was commonly Sung in the Church, but intended nothing else when he did so, but only prayed God that in the next Parliament no grievous Lawes might be made against the Romanists: so they are called in England, who keeping within their own houses, have their liberty and refuse to Joyne in worship with the Protestants.

*Garnet* being twenty times Examined, between the Ends of 11 Feb. and Febr. and the VII of the Calende of April, two days after he is arraigned at the Publick Tribunal in London: \* [*Guild-Hall*]

Here the Crimes are layed to the charge of the Prisoners, by Sir John Cook, which are afterwards enlarged on in a long Speech by Sir Edward Cook, the Kings Attorney General. Trial. See the Proceedings, Y

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Then after *Garnes* had said something for himself, and especially something concerning Equivocation, he was Examined by *Cecil* and others, that sat as Judges in that case. Add lastly, the *Earl of Northampton* made a long and elaborate discourse against him, in which he largely handled the Authority which the Popes arrogate to themselves of deposing Princes, and discussed that Chapter of *Nos sanctorum*, the ground, as he said, of this and such like Conspiracies.

At length Sentence is passed by the Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, that *Garnes* should be Drawn, Hanged, and Quartered.

His Plea for himself was only this, that although he did a long time before know of the Conspiracy, by common fame and Rumours, (for *Greenwell* only informed him of all the particulars; but under the Seal of Confession, by the Laws of which he was forbidden to discover it to any man living): yet that he did admonish *Greenwell* to desist from the Fact which he did very much disapprove of, and to hinder others engaged in Conscience or privity in it.

Here *Cecil* severely reproved him; 'For, said he, if he did disapprove of the Fact, why did he afford *Greenwell* the benefit of Absolution before he had by his penitence given testimony that he did truly and from his heart detest the Fact? Furthermore, when as he understood the matter from *Catesby*, where there was no Seal of Confession, this was sufficient to have made a discovery of the Plot if he had so highly abhorred it as he did pretend.

But there were other things that lay heavy upon his charge, and these chiefly which were amongst his Confessions, written with his own hand and sent to the King, viz. That *Greenwell* did acquaint him with this not as with a sin (he had to confess) but as an Act which he well enough understood, and in which he required his advice and counsel.

That *Catesby* and *Greenwell* came to him to require his advice upon the matter, and that the whole business might be resolved among them. That *Ismsund* (for so he was now called, who erewhile was *Greenwell*) and he, did not long ago consult together in Effect of the Particulars of this Conspiracy.



Conspiracy. Lastly, when *Greenwell* asked who should be Protector of the Kingdom; *Garnet* answered, that that answer ought to be deferred till they saw how things should go.

When these things were brought to his remembrance, and did make it appear that he knew of the Conspiracy otherwise then by the way of Confession, all that he answered was, that whatsoever he had signed with his own hand, was true.

Being brought to Execution the Third of May being *Invenio crucis* [Holy rood day] he said, 'he came thither that day to find an end at length of all the crosses that he had born in this life; that none were ignorant of the cause of his punishment; that he had sinned against the King in concealing it; that he was sorry for it, and humbly begged the Kings Pardon: that the Plot against the King and Kingdom was bloody, and which if it had taken effect he should have detested with all his heart, and that so horrid and inhumane a Fact should be attempted by Catholics, was that that grieved him more then his death. Then he added many things in defence of *Anne Vaux*, who was held in Prison, and lay under great suspicion upon his account.

Being accused that he had while *O. Ellis* was alive received certain Breves from Rome, in which he and the Peers were inclined to Popery were admonished, that when that miserable Woman should happen to die, they should admit of no Prince, how nearly soever related in blood, but such as should not only tolerate the Catholick Faith, but by all means promote it; he said, he had burnt them, the King being received for King. And when he was again Examined upon the same things, he referred *Henry Minnasse* who asked him about it, to his Confessions subscribed by him.

Being taxed for sending *Edmund Bainham* to Rome, not to return to the City before the Plot should take effect; This he thus excused, 'as if he had not sent him upon that account, but that he might inform the Pope of the calamitous state of England, and consult with him what course the Catholics should take; and therefore referred them again to his Confessions.

Then

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Then he kneeled down upon the Stage to his Prayers, and looking about hither and thither, did seem to be distressed for the loss of his life, and to hope a Pardon would be brought him from the most merciful Prince: *Montacute* admonished him that he should no longer think of life, but if he knew of any Treachery against the King or Kingdom, that he should as a dying man presently discover it; for that it was now no time to Equivocate. At which words *Garnet* being somewhat moved, made answer, 'that he knew the time did not admit of Equivocation; that how far and when it is lawful to Equivocate he had elsewhere delivered his opinion, that now he did not equivocate, and that he knew nothing but what he had confessed. Then he excused himself that he did as first dissemble before the Lords; 'That he did so because he did not think they had had such testimony and proof against him, 'till they did produce it; which when they did produce, he thought it as honourable for him to confess, as it would have been at first to have accused himself. He added many things to excuse *Greenwell*, professing that unless he thought he were out of danger, he would not have discovered the guilt of his dear Brother in this Conspiracy. Then praying that the

\* He said also, I exhort them all to take heed they enter not into any Treasons, Rebellions, or Insurrections against the King. † Against which Robert Abbot wrote his Antilogia, edit. Lond. 1613. 4.

\* Catholics in England might not fare the worse upon his account, he crossed himself, and after he had commended his Soul to God, the Ladder being taken away, he was hang'd to death. In his behalf *Andreas Eudaimon-Johannes* a Cretian, of the same Society, wrote an † Apology, in answer to Sir Edw. Cokes (Book Intituled) *Alibi in Prodisores*, (for so much the Title doth imply) published four years after, and approved by *Claudius Aquaviva* Provincial of the Society, in which chiefly the Doctrine of Equivocation is defended and explained from Scripture, Fathers, Schoolmen, and Thomists; and the necessity and matter of the Seal of Secrecie or Confession is debated, and the chief heads of his Accusation are answered; the Speech of the Earl of Northampton is refuted. Moreover he doth endeavour to evince that *Garnet* never knew any thing of the Conspiracy but by the way of Confession; and that he did always abhor the Treason.

Then

Then some things are related of his *Constancy as his Death*, which are not related in the History of it. And as a conclusion of his Commentary, there is the memorable *Story of the Straw* upon which the Effigies of the Dead was seen; at which he saith his Adversaries were very much disturbed.

Whiles the Body was quartered by the Hangman, some drops of blood fell upon the Straw that was there provided to light the fire. *John Griffith* who was there present, that he might gather some relique of the Body of *Gowen*, carried home with him an Ear, that was sprinkled with blood, and deposited it with a Gentle woman, who kept it with great veneration in a Chrystal glass. Afterward it was observed with great admiration, that the Effigies of *Gowen* was plainly expressed in that blood.

Hu. Griffith's wife.

Then with great Zeal was the same of the Miracle spread abroad; which others did presently elude by a contrary construction; saying, 'It ought to seem no wonder if a man brought up among Exiles in *Flanders*, improved at *Rome* in *Italy*, authorized to a Conspiracy in his own Countrey; and breathing nothing but revenge, did as long as he lived thirst after the blood of his Countreymen, should when dead desire to be pictured in blood. So dangerous a thing it is in these corrupt times to say any thing for the honour of any man in those things which do exceed belief and the common course of Nature, which may not presently be retorted to his disparagement.

This end had *this Conspiracy*; the strangest that either our, or former ages do make mention of, for contrivance, daringness, or cruelty. For it is often heard of, and fame doth deliver it down to posterity, that many Princes are cut off by Treachery, many Common-wealths are attempted by the snares and falshood of their Enemies; But no Countrey, no Age ever bred such a Monster of Conspiracy as this, wherein the King with the Queen, the Parents with their whole Issue, all the States of the Kingdom, the whole Kingdom it self, and in it innumerable Innocents should all be destined to one Destruction in one moment, for a Sacrifice to the lust of a few enraged Minds.

But

But it was very well, that that Monster, which they themselves that bear the blame of it, do both by word and writing every where detest, being so long before conceived at home, should be strangled in the birth before ever it see the light.

A little while after, *Isaac Casaubon* when he went into *England*, thinking of nothing less than to be engaged in this business, upon occasion of another *Apology* sent to him, and by him delivered to the King of *Great Britain*, wrote an *Elegant Epistle to Fronto Ducens*, in which he sheweth, that *Garnes* knew otherwise then under the Seal of Confession of the Powder Conspiracy, by his own Confession and Testimony written with his own hand, and doth at large discuss the Doctrine of *Equivocation*, as ensnaring and pernicious, against the Arguments of *Eudaimon-Johannes*. Against which, not *Ducens*, but *Eudaimon-Johannes* doth rail sufficiently.

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**FINIS.**

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